

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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S E C R E T SALT TWO GENEVA 5109

EXDIS/SALT

SPECAT EXCLUSIVE FOR SECDEF

E.O. 11652: XGDSI

TAGS: PARM

SUBJECT: SALT: HIGHLIGHTS OF SEPTEMBER 25 POST-MEETING
DISCUSSIONS (SALT TWO-281)

1. SUMMARY. POST-MEETING DISCUSSIONS INCLUDED EXCHANGES
OF VIEWS ON STATUS OF OUTSTANDING US AND SOVIET PROPOSALS
AND ON FBS. END SUMMARY.

2. OUTSTANDING US AND SOVIET PROPOSALS. GRINEVSKY ASKED
KLOSSON (A-338) WHY US CONTINUES TO ASK FOR SOVIET REACTION
TO ITS PROPOSALS WHEN SOVEIT SIDE HAS ALREADY INDICATED IN
PREVIOUS SESSIONS THAT THEIR REACTION WAS GENERALLY NEGATIVE
TO BOTH PROPOSALS. KLOSSON NOTED THAT SOVDEL HAD MADE NO
FORMAL STATEMENT WHICH PROVIDED CONCLUSIVE REPLY AND
ADDED IF SOVIET RESPONSE NEGATIVE, US DEL WOULD HOPE
TO BE TOLD REASONS UNDERLYING SOVIET POSITION.

3. BELETSKY (TO FITZGERALD, A-337) STRESSED THAT US
SIDE SHOULD FORMALLY RESPOND TO SOVIET APRIL PROPOSALS.
HE SAID SEMENOV WILL RESPOND TO US PROPOSALS DURING NEXT
SEVERAL MEETINGS. IN RESPONSE TO FITZGERALD'S QUESTION
AS TO WHETHER NEW SOVIET PROPOSALS WILL INCLUDE SOVIET
COUNTER PROPOSAL TO US PROVISIONAL AGREEMENT, BELETSKY
SAID THIS WILL BECOME CLEAR "IN DUE TIME."

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4. TRUSOV (TO ROWNY, A-339) ASSERTED THAT SOVIET DELEGA-
TION HAD NOT HAD A FULL OFFICIAL RESPONSE TO THEIR
OFFICIALLY TABLED PROPOSALS. ROWNY SAID US SIDE HAD
PUT FORWARD A CONCRETE PROPOSAL WHICH INCLUDED THOSE

PARTS OF THE SOVIET PROPOSAL US CONSIDERED ACCEPTABLE, CERTAIN AMPLIFICATIONS TO THE PREVIOUS US APPROACH AND AN ALTERNATIVE QUALITATIVE PROPOSAL. TRUSOV INSISTED, HOWEVER, THAT SOVIET APRIL 9 PROPOSAL STILL REQUIRED OFFICIAL RESPONSE IN LIGHT OF THE DIRECTIONS GIVEN THE NEGOTIATIONS AT THE SUMMIT.

5. IN RESPONSE TO AUSLAND'S COMMENT (A-336) THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THAT THE SOVIETS DID NOT PLAN TO COMMENT EXPLICITLY ON US MAY PROPOSALS, CHULITSKY SAID THIS WAS CORRECT.

6. FBS. SMOLIN (TO GRAYBEAL, A-335) EXPRESSED DISAPPOINTMENT IN AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT SINCE IT DID NOT TAKE INTO ACCOUNT "VERY IMPORTANT BASIC PRINCIPLES AGREED TO AND SIGNED BY THE HIGHEST LEVEL IN OUR TWO GOVERNMENTS." GRAYBEAL REFUTED SMOLIN'S ASSERTION, NOTING THAT US PROPOSALS HAD BEEN REVIEWED IN LIGHT OF THE PRINCIPLES AND FOUND TO BE COMPLETELY CONSISTENT WITH THEM. IN SUMMARIZING US PROPOSALS, GRAYBEAL STATED THAT "EQUAL SECURITY INTERESTS" MEANT US DID NOT SEPARATE ITS SECURITY INTERESTS FROM THOSE OF ITS ALLIES AND THUS US NON-CIRCUMVENTION FORMULA OF MAY 15 WAS DEFINITIVE SOLUTION TO FBS AND NON-CENTRAL SYSTEMS PROBLEM. IN RESPONSE, SMOLIN NOTED THAT WHILE THIS WAS US INTERPRETATION, SOVIETS TOOK VIEW THAT IT WAS NECESSARY TO TAKE INTO ACCOUNT "US FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS CAPABLE OF STRIKING TERRITORY OF THE SOVIET UNION."

7. SMOLIN SAID CAREFUL REVIEW OF THE HISTORY OF THE US POSITION ON "FBS" INDICATED TO HIM THAT THE US WOULD BE PRESENTING A NEW POSITION THEREON. GRAYBEAL ASKED SMOLIN HOW HE COULD COME TO SUCH A CONCLUSION IN VIEW OF PAST US STATEMENTS INCLUDING AMBASSADOR JOHNSON'S STATEMENT OF THIS MORNING. SMOLIN THEN REFERRED TO
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TESTIMONY BY SECRETARY OF DEFENSE LAIRD BEFORE A SENATE COMMITTEE IN WHICH LAIRD HAD BEEN ASKED A QUESTION REGARDING THE US POSITION ON "FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS IN SALT" AND HIS RESPONSE HAD BEEN DELETED FROM THE UNCLASSIFIED PUBLICATION. FROM THIS SMOLIN DEDUCED THAT THE US WAS DEVELOPING A NEW POSITION. HIS LOGIC WAS THAT IF THE US POSITION WAS REMAINING THE SAME SUCH A COMMENT BY LAIRD WOULD NOT HAVE BEEN DELETED. ALTHOUGH GRAYBEAL NOTED THERE WERE MANY REASONS FOR DELETING PORTIONS OF OFFICIAL TESTIMONY, E.G., IF IT CONTAINED SPECIFIC FIGURES OF FORCE LEVELS WHICH ARE CLASSIFIED, SMOLIN SAID HE COULD NOT ACCEPT SUCH AN EXPLANATION.

8. GRINEVSKY SAID (TO KLOSSON, A-338) SOVIETS COULD

NOT OFFER A CONCRETE AGGREGATE NUMBER OF OFFENSIVE WEAPONS UNTIL THE QUESTION OF FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS HAD BEEN DISCUSSED. FOR SOVIETS, QUESTION OF FORWARD-BASED SYSTEMS WAS "THE MAIN PROBLEM." WHEN KLOSSON POINTED OUT THAT US HAD PRESENTED A CONCRETE PROPOSAL RE NON-CENTRAL SYSTEMS, GRINEVSKY REPLIED THAT US PROPOSAL WAS UNSATISFACTORY FROM SOVIET VIEWPOINT.

9. LENGTH OF CURRENT ROUND. WHEN KLOSSON ASKED GRINEVSKY (A-338) HOW HE PERSONALLY FORESAW THE SCHEDULE OF THE CURRENT ROUND, LATTER SAID, SPEAKING PERSONALLY, HE WOULD ANTICIPATE "SHORT AND DYNAMIC" ROUNDS, LASTING FOUR OR FIVE WEEKS, TO ALLOW THE SIDES PERIODICALLY TO ASSESS PROGRESS AND DECIDE ON FURTHER ACTION. JOHNSON

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